Computer games and organization studies[1]

Abstract

Computer games and organizations are becoming increasingly interwoven in the 21st century. Sophisticated computer games connected by networks are turning into spaces for organizing. Therefore, it may not be surprising that conventional organizations are now scrounging these games for novel ways to enhance efficiency. The result is the formation of game/organization hybrids; uneasy recontextualizations of partly incompatible ideas, values and practices. We begin this essay by elucidating what it is socially that makes something a game by exploring the notion's anthropological foundations. We then introduce two examples of actual game/organization hybrids; raiding in computer games and gamification in formal organizations. We conclude by discussing the implications of such hybridization and suggest venues for how organization and management scholars can benefit from studying computer games and theories of play.

Keywords: **Computer Games, Gamification, Raiding, Recontextualization , Theory of Play**

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Introduction

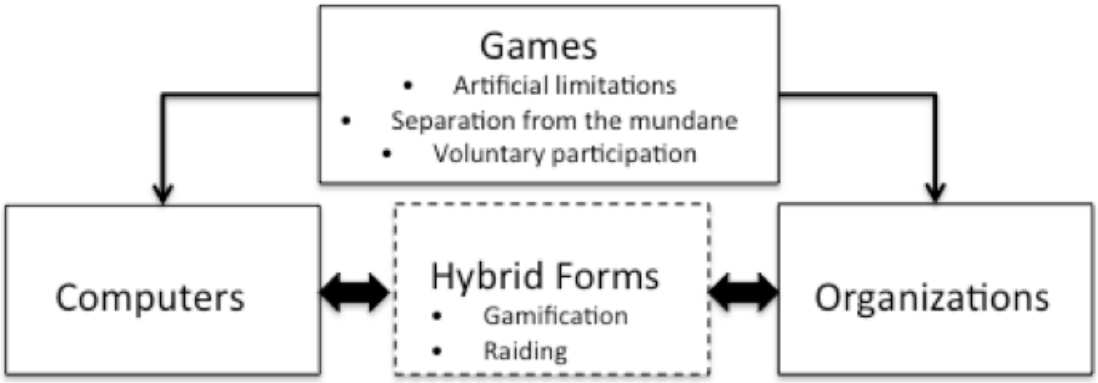
Being a human implies playing; *homo ludens* is an inalienable denizen of our society (Huizinga, 1955). Whilst many associate playing with childhood development (e.g. Vygotsky, 1967; Lever, 1976; Garvey, 1990), playing a game is a rather more complex phenomenon than initially meets the eye. From Angry Birds to Mario the supercharged plumber to interstellar spaceships to post-apocalyptic zombies, computer games have become an important part of everyday life. In the United States alone 59% of the population play computer games while revenues of the computer games industry exceed US $15 billion (ESA, 2014). Today's computer games are a type of bricolage weaving together narratives and aesthetic designs with possibilities for self-actualization (Taylor, 2006; Nardi, 2010). They manifest indigenous forms of organizing that are in a dialectical relationship with their 'real world' contemporaries (Corneliussen, 2008).

But what happens when a computer game becomes 'organizational'? Or when an organization becomes 'gamified'? Whilst on the surface this might appear simply to be a practical problem, on a deeper conceptual level playing a game might be at severe odds with the rational and often profit-seeking world of organizations. Games are about setting up a separate reality framed through its own self-contained rules, happening in dedicated play spaces and durations that are enacted through voluntary participation. Organizations are typically sites of work; such as wage labor, entrepreneurship or voluntary work. Yet, computer game/organization hybrids do exist. We discuss two examples; the case of gamification of work and the case of raiding in computer games. For better or for worse, computer games are an emergent organizational environment. As organization scholars we should be aware of this, and seek to reflect what this means for our field of study.

What makes something a game?

Originating in linguistics and pedagogy (e.g. Bernstein, 2003) recontextualization conceptualizes how the construction, dissemination and appropriation of knowledge occur in society (Thomas, 2003; Brannen, 2004; Erjavec & Volcic, 2007). In this essay we use recontextualization to understand how ideas, values and practices (Peltokorpi & Vaara, 2011) of games are recreated in computer game/organization hybrids (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The Recontextualization of Games



In order to understand the recontextualization process from this point-of-view, it is important to understand how games shape human activity. Whilst games are one of mankind's oldest forms of organizing, games are also a rather specific kind of organizing. In this essay we discuss three central characteristics of games that are derived from classical theories of play (Huitzinga, 1955; Caillois, 1961); artificial limitations, separation from the mundane and voluntary participation.

Firstly, games contain artificial limitations to human activity and organizing in the shape of rules that define the very nature of the game. Such limits might relate to where the game can be played, how the objects of the game can be manipulated, how objectives are achieved or how breeches of the game's limits are sanctioned. The purpose of such limits or complications is to make the game more enjoyable and structured (Suits, 1978, p. 54-5). A game becomes meaningless to its players and undecipherable to observers when they do not understand its rules. In many games, a thrill arises from attempts to learn to work with, or even to overcome, these artificial limits. Often games contain an element of opposition, such as two competing teams that play the game, in order to create a disequilibrium outcome (Avedon & Sutton- Smith, 1971). Overall, it is central that all participants of the game adhere, for the duration of the game, to its artificial limits.

The second quality of games is their separation from mundane life. Games constitute an alternative reality from that of our daily lives. In gameplay, the participant is removed from one reality - that of his/her daily life - into another that does not involve him more than he/she decides to (Caillois, 1959). A player can become a striker in a ballgame, a property speculator in Monopoly, or the Lara Croft of Tombraider. As argued by Huizinga, games are '*a free activity standing quite consciously outside ordinary life as being not serious, but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly*' (1955:13). Often such separation is enacted through recourse to a specific location such as a football stadium or, as we will come to, game-dedicated virtual worlds. This separation from mundane life also implies that in games statements and actions assume a different meaning that is only applicable within the game itself (Bateson, 1972).

A person bluffing in poker is not considered generally untrustworthy because such bluffing is socially sanctioned by the game's rules. Thus, there is an action/meaning mismatch when compared to everyday social life. The social contract surrounding gameplay keeps consequences separate, and furthermore allows for asymmetric outcomes (Salen & Zimmerman, 2004:80). Thirdly, to play a game is in a strict sense based on voluntary participation. A game implies an activity is pursued solely for its own intrinsic pleasure and game aesthetic. In this sense a game is different from for example professional sports; *'a game is free (voluntary), separate (taking place within its own space and time), uncertain (without a pre-defined outcome), unproductive (not creating any value outside of the activity), governed by rules and based on make-believe'* (Caillois, 1961: 9-10).

As argued by Huizinga (1955) games create a magic circle within which these limits attain a momentary truth-value. Games can be 'won' only within their own rules and grounds, requiring players to submit and commit to its artificial limits, ideally wholeheartedly. But to be a game in the classical sense still means that the game itself should not result in benefit beyond the limits of the magic circle. Because it is in the aesthetic of voluntarism where games are bestowed with meaning; *'play is a voluntary activity or occupation, executed according to rules freely accepted but absolutely binding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy, and the awareness that it is different from ordinary life.'* (Klabbers, 2009: 24). It is this encapsulation in artificial limits that differentiates the playing of a game from other domains of life such as work.

Games in computers and organizations

The question is, then, what happens when these qualities of games enter organizational contexts? How are organizational discourses and practices appropriated? The picture appears blurred as the contexts themselves are still partly emerging. We are not accustomed to seeing organizations as bundles of artificial limits, separation(s) from the mundane and voluntary participation; but we might be prepared to see limited aspects of these in some organizations. Whilst organizations are often sites of rationality, such rationality can require game-like limiting rules such as markets that depend on regulation to function properly. Some organizations, such as NGOs, depend on a sizeable number of voluntary participants. The question is not so much about the occasional overlap in how organizations and games function; but rather about what happens when this overlap is pushed to its extreme.

If we reflect on what games, understood as a form of social interaction (Huizinga, 1955; Caillois, 1961; Bateson, 1972), mean for organizations we find studies that have examined how play can be mobilized as an organizational resource with regard to phenomena such as undecidability (Pors & Andersen, 2015), boredom

(Butler, Olaison, Silwa, Sorensen & Spoelstra, 2014) and embodied metaphors (Heracleous & Jacobs, 2008). In particular, studies of serious play (i.e., the idea that playing can enhance formal work; Jacobs & Statler, 2006; Statler, Roos & Victor, 2009) argue for the general benefits to organizations that can be derived from play in activities such as innovation and learning (Hjorth, 2005; Statler, Heracleous & Jacobs, 2011; Pina e Cunha, Neves, Clegg & Rego, 2015). Yet, as pointed out by Sorensen and Spoelstra (2012), play in organizations is typically construed as a potential business engine focused on maximizing performance and not as an inherent, independent aspect of human activity. Thus today, organizational gameplay is both reduced to and mobilized for the rational pursuit of efficiency.

This in itself is less novel than we might assume. The first computer games were written in the 1950s; they were business simulations, educational applications or technology demonstrators, not made for the pursuit of leisure. Leisure would only become a serious aspect of computing at the emergence of video gaming arcades in the 1970s. But once the genie was out of the bottle there was no pushing it back. Gaming was a bread and butter component of the personal computing revolution, but also generated an ongoing stream of dedicated video gaming devices. But for the emergence of computer game/organization hybrids the decisive technological affordance was the rise of the Internet; which allowed people to easily link huge numbers of computers. The leisure of computer gaming could for the first time be shared by many people, and with this organizing became a mainstream feature of computer games. Today, not only do organizations examine the usefulness of games for improved efficiency but computer games are exploring organization as a form of leisure activity, too. What kind of solutions does such hybridization result in? Let us examine two examples: raiding in computer games and gamification in organizations.

Raiding as a hybrid context

Game studies have suggested that online gaming communities use novel organizational configurations (e.g. Williams, Ducheneaut, Xiong, Zhang, Yee & Nickell, 2006; Castronova, 2008; Chen, Sun & Hsieh, 2008; Taylor, 2009; Vesa, 2013; Warmelink & Siitonen, 2013). With millions of computers connected through the Internet it became possible to program persistent, virtual game worlds such as Azeroth of World of Warcraft or New Eden of EVE Online. Computer gaming prior to the Internet typically consisted of, say, beating a computer in Civilization or at best setting up a LAN party with your friends. These new virtual game worlds, however, cater to millions of players across the world. They also create opportunities for in-game collaboration between players on a hitherto unforeseen scale. But bundled with the increased possibilities for collaboration came a need to co-ordinate large groups of players. Challenges

such as demon hunting, setting up an intergalactic smuggling agency, or saving the ancestral homeland of the gnomes from radiation-mad troggs became organizational problems. And the ensuing organizing, in turn, became a game-within-a-game.

This organizing activity is called 'raiding' in the established player jargon from games such as Everquest, World of Warcraft or Star Wars: The Old Republic. The term turns the mind towards associations with medieval Vikings or perhaps hostile corporate takeovers; but in this specific context it is simply about organizing in-game activity involving from tens to hundreds of concurrent online players. Players often form in-game organizations that are known as 'guilds'. Guilds are much like any organization; with their own rules, hierarchies, resource allocation systems and decision-making structures. Thus, these guilds are computer game contextualizations of organizations; with practices, discourses and values appropriated from real-world counterparts. Although this appropriation results in a hybridization of leisurely intentions and efficiency, it is not a straightforward transfer that we see. To demonstrate, let us begin by taking a look at a new member recruitment notice of a World of Warcraft raiding guild:

> *Excerpt: Guild Alpha recruitment poster, March 2008*
>
> *You will want to raid minimum 3 times each week from 19:30 to 24:00 CET. (Alpha raids 4 days a week Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday 19:30 to 24:00). Grind whatever is needed for raiding outside the raid hours. If you show up without potions, elixirs, flasks and food it is a sign that you don't want to perform at your best and that won't get you membership in Alpha. Able to use TS. Listening required, having a mic and using it preferred. All gear must be enchanted with the best enchants suited for your role. Do not bother to apply with poor quality gems or unenchanted gear.*
>
> *Previous raiding experience is something we are looking for. You should always as a goal want to outperform any veterans in the raid or there is no reason to invite you. You have to be able to handle criticism and learn from mistakes. Willing to accept being benched for certain fights when raid needs new setup. You will be judged on how consistent your performance is.*

It is a given that computer games and the virtual worlds created for them contain substantial amounts of hard program-code embedded rules. The constant tweaking and balancing of such rules is one of the main challenges of game designers and forms the core artificial limits of the game. But what the recruitment ad shows is that the organizing game-within-a-game creates an additional layer of rules on top of the hard-coded rules of virtual worlds. These

rules of organizing are not hard-coded; rather they are created by the players for the players. Such rules define and attempt to resolve a number of ordinary organizational challenges. How often must a player participate in the activities of the guild? How should a player prepare for such participation? What are the minimum accepted performance levels? Can the player accept the underlying values and norms of the guild? As activity this organizing is conducted through practices that are clearly close to their real-world contemporaries; it involves a whole lot of strategizing, staffing, mediating between people, socializing and resource allocation, to name a few. They pertain to the way a player can and should participate in the activities of his or her guild. Deviations from such organizational soft rules are technically possible but socially disapproved and sanctioned. This increases the complexity of the game itself. Getting one or even a handful of players to do something is relatively simple, but getting dozens of players to do the same in a synchronized manner is a trickier affair.

That computer games and their virtual worlds are removed from the mundane is at a first glance hardly questionable. There are very few of us who in our quotidian toil guide space ships and even the few exorcists that we have do not get to shoot bolts of lightning from their fingertips at the denizens of the underworld. Yet the way in which raiding relies on real-world practices and discourses for accomplishing the organizing itself challenges and even partly removes this separation. The organizational problems that guilds face tend to be mundane everyday affairs. Perhaps a player cannot show up because he or she is studying for an exam, a raid falls apart because the raid leaders end up in a heated quarrel, or a poor Internet connection makes it impossible for a key player to be online (Snodgrass et al, 2016). Such problems tend to gnaw away at the suspension of disbelief that an immersive game experience should entail. Organizing thus tends to make raiding feel less like playing a game and a lot like a chore; or 'grinding' as it is called in raiding jargon. And this can lead to frustration that creates a rather graphic language; with the range of expressions finding their root in sexual insults and violations forming quite an astounding etymological richness. It is questionable if these should be literally understood in terms of real-world speech. But it is possible that they contribute to the extreme discourse of hate speech readily visible on the Internet today.

With the exception of professional e-sports players, participation in raiding is at its heart a voluntary activity. But raiding guilds are typically very forthright about the level of expected participation; "*You will want to raid minimum 3 times each week"* as expressed in the illustrative excerpt. Voluntariness is shifted to become a responsibility of the individual player and failure to live up to one's own promises has very real disciplinary consequences. In raiding this results in a division of guilds into broadly two categories; those that are "hard-core" and those that are "casual". The hard-core guilds take a highly competitive outlook on

the playing; they want to perform at the top, be better and/or faster than other guilds and generally earn recognition for belonging to a restricted elite of the game's players. In reverse, casual guilds tend to focus much more on social harmony and creating co-operative possibilities between groups of friends. This means they must allow players substantial leeway in how much they play or how skilled they are supposed to be. The voluntary aspect of the raiding game/organization hybrid is managed through a clear bracketing into the more work like and the more play like. This can in itself become an organizational problem as players can change their preferences; today's hard-core raider might be tomorrow's casual raider. It is not unusual for highly competitive players to suffer from playing burnout and retire from raiding altogether. Whilst on the surface raiding participation is voluntary, by turning the question into an organizational problem moderated by peer pressure this calls into question exactly how voluntary the participation can be.

Overall, games acquire a new layer of complexity when they become organized. Yet, at the same time this increased complexity makes the game less of a game. The added complexity stems directly from the introduction of a player-induced extra layer of rules; but these erode away at the separation from the mundane and the genuine sense of voluntary participation that we expect of games. Thus raiding is about both playing the game as well as organizing the game. It is a hybrid context that draws heavily on the discourses and practices of formal organizations to come about. But gamers are fully entitled to ask if the game would be better without the entire organizational raiding context in the first place.

Gamification as a hybrid context

Just as organizing inside computer games draws on and from discourses and practices from real-world organizations, it is not surprising that over time this exchange has become a two-way street. Millions of raiders are our colleagues today and tomorrow; and when fixing organizational problems there will be times when solutions are inspired by experiences from the computer game domain. To explicate this kind of hybridity we now explore a notion that has recently found its way into airport lounges and the popular business press: gamificiation. The basic idea behind gamification is simple; when you think about the enthusiasm that people have for their hobbies and leisure time, could there be some way to bring this same enthusiasm to business? Could work, so to speak, be shrouded in the guise of a game?

The core idea is that game design is an art of hedonic and motivating system design. These game systems are used for the non-utilitarian purpose of enjoyment. This enjoyment is derived from the process of using the system,

rather than from any exogenous outcomes of that use (Hamari, 2015). This, when applied to work and organization, is called gamification (Deterding, 2015; Hamari, Huotanen & Tolvanen, 2015). Gamification can be understood either as the use of game elements in non-game contexts (Deterding, 2015) or as a process of making structures, organizations or systems more intrinsically motivating in order to support their overall value creation (Huotari & Hamari, 2016). In practice, this kind of system design often implies adding elements such as goals, valorization of outcomes, competence-based satisfaction and senses of voluntary participation into work (e.g., McGonigal, 2011; Zichermann & Cunningham, 2011).

In business, the introduction of artificial game limits implies an attempt at reconfiguring how work is perceived. Behavioral guidance undergoes a kind of virtualization; for example, achievement at work is measured through earning intangible rewards such as badges or 'worker of the month' plaques. Oddly, this reminds us of the old work improvement campaigns of communist states – 'toil like comrade Stakhanov' or 'learn from comrade Lei Feng'. Rather than work being about performing the tasks associated with the job, work is envisioned as a competitive or even joyful game of outperforming one's colleagues and it is rewarded with immaterial prestige rewards. Although gamification is a practice in its infancy, even a cursory search of the Internet will show that it is a very real phenomenon catered to both by the popular press and consulting. Gamification has been successfully applied to a whole range of activities from personal fitness to organizational game-based learning and managing entire customer loyalty programs. Still, industry reports on the diffusion of gamification have varied from extremely positive outlooks ('most organizations will adopt in the near future', Gartner, 2011; IEEE, 2014) to less optimistic ones ('most adoptions will fail', Gartner, 2012).

A concrete example of the gamified affordances in organizations is "stealth" learning. This refers to situations where one learns without noticing that one does so (Whitton, 2014). Often relying on individual anecdotal case examples and conjecture, game-based learning has been sold to organizations as the panacea to solve problems of inertia and lack of agility (e.g., Prensky, 2007). A key concept to close the deal is the assumption that a kind of stealth learning takes place in computer games, which is subsequently able to affect the entire organization in a practically viral fashion. The idea has some actual merit, as useful stealth learning has indeed been observed to take place in computer game play (MacCallum-Stewart, 2011). Learning from such environments enhances cooperative skills, critical thinking, digital literacies, motivation, peer mentoring, persistence and experience sharing (Hoyle & Moseley, 2012). However, what is important for organization-at-large is the question whether stealth learning is also useful and viable for non-game organizations.

The reasons to separate work and organizational life from the mundane and insert them into the fold of games are thus rather instrumental. The move promises to endow work and organizations with new practices and discourses that no longer come across as work at all. Who would, after all, choose the everyday toil of work when one could pursue the pleasure of playing a game? Gamification has been touted as a next generation method for marketing and customer engagement in popular discussion (e.g. Zichermann & Cunningham, 2011). Research indicates that providing feedback, points, status levels and optimal challenges in a collaborative setting can increase performance (Jung et al., 2010). On the other hand, it is unclear if gamification can create motivation in people not already motivated by what they do (Hamari, 2013). Research also indicates that the potential positive effects of gamification may merely stem from novelty and can soon turn against the intended goals (Koivisto & Hamari, 2014).

Gamified applications, such as stealth learning, may have unforeseen consequences when transferred to formal organizations. Organizations have tools and processes for ensuring co-operative knowledge sharing in competitive and cross-functional situations (e.g., Loebecke et al., 1999; Ghobadi & D'Ambra, 2012). Some of these can be adopted for gamified applications, but this requires a re-thinking of the methods. Many of those who enjoy in-game organizing, even in highly competitive situations, do not appreciate the same kinds of practices in their work environments (Warmelink, 2014). For many paid, contract-based work remains different from even the most serious forms of voluntary play. Therefore, for a business organization to take on for example stealth learning, it needs to reflect how the appropriation of learning can happen so that it becomes meaningful in the new organizational context. Without such a shift, it is highly likely that what is learned in the context of the game remains just the playing individual's learning and so context-specific that it cannot be applied in other settings (Kim, 1993). The situation is further complicated by the fact that many people have a personal play preference or style that drives them to treat games as competitive activities. As competition creeps in the ability of such players to reflect upon their choices diminishes and their desire to seek short-term efficiency increases.

But where does gamification as a computer game/organization hybrid leave us? In organizational settings the results of gamification have been varied. It is clear, however, that gamification has attracted significant interest and a wide range of opinions while at the same time there still remains conceptual scantiness and a dearth of empirical studies on its consequences for work or organization. The strong positive belief in the effectiveness of gamification has mainly been based on self-sustained reasoning claiming that because games are "fun" and intrinsically motivating, any organization that uses the same design principles

should also prove to be 'fun' and effective in invoking further positive organizational outcomes.

Play on or game over?

Experiments with game/organizations hybrids are ongoing in society today. This in itself is ultimately not surprising. As already observed by Huizinga (1955) play is in itself significant; it is an element in, not of, culture. We played before we wrote and continue to do so, from the deep mimetic play of Balinese cockfights (Geertz, 1973) to modern amusements parks (Caillois, 1961) and the crafting of speculative strategic scenarios (Schoemaker, 1995; Swart, Raskin & Robinson, 2004). This is so because play, on deeper reflection, has an astonishing capacity to bend into very diverse aspects of our culture and everyday life. Seeing play at work allows us to appreciate both novel aspects and conundrums in human organizing. Game/organization hybrids form a rich empirical source with the potential to contribute to a surprising range of debates.

An appreciation of gameplay is built on understanding its particularity; its voluntary character, its separation from mundane life and its ability to craft artificial boundaries. Doing so, gameplay brings out in us an astounding dedication to pursue an activity simply for its own sake and pleasure. Play invokes flow (Nakamura & Csíkszentmihályi, 2014) by having clear goals, feedback mechanisms and allowing us to test within the boundaries of the game our skills. Play is a fragile state easily disturbed, but when allowed to prosper it holds one key to both understanding and promoting organizational creativity and counterintuitive insights. Yet, extrapolating play onto work risks the potential trivialization of indigenous game-joy. This is not something that we should necessarily desire. Do we really desire to mix, essentially, play and work? In a world where the economic mindset continues to make inroads into ever-new spheres of society, allowing play to remain play, a pursuit for its own sake and not for tangible gains, might be more important.

Thus, as pointed out by Sorensen and Spoelstra (2012), it is not surprising that there is a demand for mobilizing play as a performance maximizing engine. Computer games themselves trace an ancestry to formal business simulations. Gameplay can act as a powerful mechanism for learning (Harviainen & Vesa, 2016), and more widely we are witnessing a profusion of gamified mechanism and affordances in organizations. But how far is this simply a superficial fad consisting of what Deterding (2012) calls 'points, badges and leaderboards'; shallow attempts at pumping out higher performance from a working life already precariously drained by recurring economical and technological upheavals? What guarantees do we have that game-based learning itself is actually transferrable out from its self-contained magic circle and gain value in

the wider world? From a pragmatic point-of-view, utility and efficiency are at the heart of management and organization studies (Walsh et al, 2007; Jarzabkowski et al, 2010). But it remains unclear if and how gameplay actually contributes to such efficiency. The view we take in this essay, supported by initial studies (see e.g. Kim, 1993; Thom et al., 2012; Koivisto & Hamari, 2014; Warmelink, 2014), urge towards moderate caution.

Games are not necessarily benign phenomena. Because games are removed from everyday life they contain the potential to skew perceptions; reality itself becomes a rule set to be explored and exploited with actors loosing sight of the consequences of their actions. Thus, for top executives a gamified reality can result in mimetic spectacles (Boje, Rosile, Durant & Luhman, 2004) whilst for the worker can be a trap for shrouding what Harvey et al (2016) call for neo-villeiny; the hyper-flexible and precarious work that forms the dark side of the sharing economy. Corporate strategizing itself is inducible of such slips to the dark side being characterized by what Barry and Elmes (1997) call for a constant discursive tension between the novel and the familiar. The adoption of games for estrategic decision-making can result in an inappropriate simplification of operative realities, static understanding of environments and ultimately a fallacy of believing that the organizational environment is somehow game-like. This is nothing we in academia are immune to either. Concepts such as 'publish or perish' or indeed 'the publishing game' have become commonplace in our vocabularies. Contained within these popular concepts are ideological cues for understanding what the academic profession itself should be about. The end result is at times a pretty banal and gamified reality where academics are known for the number of their FT 45, four star or Academy journal articles; almost as if these were comparable to badges awarded by the gamified fitness apps we download into our smartphones. The irony is that at least we get to wear badges of our own writing.

Placed in a historical context computer games are one offspring of the digital revolution in which we today live. We believe that as both emerging and outlier objects they can act as hotbeds for incubating novel forms of organizing and contain important weak signals about its future direction. Studying these games allows us to reach informed conclusions regarding the exchange of ideas, values and practices between novel and established organizational forms. When one reflects on the foundations of modern organization and management theory (e.g. Barnard, 1938; Chandler, 1962; Cyert & March, 1963) they are essentially texts on the organizing of work. Theories of game and play (e.g. Huizinga, 1955; Caillois, 1961; Bateson, 1972) stand in a stark contrast to these; yet we should keep in mind that games are one of the oldest forms of organizing in human society. There is ample room for theoretical cross-fertilization between organization theory and theories of games, with play theories as a mental jester

that constantly questions and mocks the overly-formalized assumptions that underlie the study of the organizing of work. While work and games will likely continue to co-exist in an uneasy roll-and-tumble, the academic inquiry into both is ultimately joined by an interest in the human condition; be this in our efforts as *homo economicus* or *homo ludens*.

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